1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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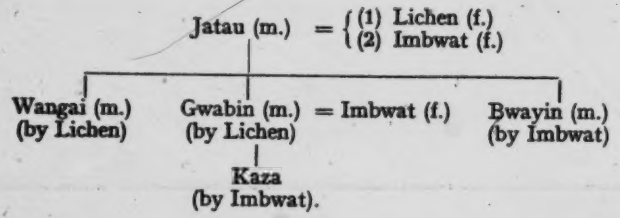
a result of such inheritance is illustrated in the following example :—




On the death of his father (Jatau), Gwabin inherited Imbwat, and begat a son Kaza. Bwayin thus occupied the double position of being Kaza's paternal uncle and also his half-brother by the same mother. How did Kaza address Bwayin? The answer was that although Kaza might refer to Bwayin as *nanyuk* (brother) he was bound to address him as *atio* (father) on the ground (*a*) that Bwayin might succeed Gwabin one day as head of Kaza's household, (*b*) that Kaza might one day inherit Bwayin's widow, and (*c*) that Bwayin may not "play" with Kaza's wife. Gwabin, who has now become the husband of Bwayin's mother, continues to call Bwayin his "brother" (*nanyuk*). On the other hand, Wangai, who formerly called Imbwat *ayang* or "mother", now calls her *aviyuk* or "wife", and if Gwabin dies he may inherit her. It is noteworthy that a man addresses his father's co-wife as "mother" until he inherits her. This does not bear out Dr. Rivers' contention that the fact that men address one another as parents and children provides the clearest of all possible indications that they are ineligible as consorts in marriage.[1]

Before leaving the subject of the relationship terminology, a few words may be said about the playmate relationship and the use of personal names. The playmate relationship is a social institution found among many primitive peoples, notably those of Africa, Melanesia, and North America. It is practised among certain classes of relatives between whom the strict rules of etiquette governing social intercourse are so relaxed that they display towards one another an attitude of joking familiarity. In Nigeria and among most Negro peoples the principal relatives

[1] *History of Melanesian Society*, ii, 39.

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602 603 who stand to each other in this relationship are usually grandparents and grandchildren (in the classificatory sense), and certain relatives by marriage (e.g. a man and his wife's younger brother). Ortho-cousins are not, as a rule, "playmates," but [605] cross-cousins frequently are. Among the Katab a playmate is known as *pandang shong* (or *pandang dunu*, or *tabunu*). A grandchild is *pandang shong* with his father's or mother's parents and their brothers and sisters. If he goes to his grandfather's house the latter will say: "Well, what has brought you here; have you come to try and rob me of my wife?" To which he will reply: "She is my wife, not yours; you are too old." His grandmother will then join in and say: "Yes, but you are no good as a husband, you have no money and no grain in your granary; you can scarcely support yourself, much less a wife!" And so the banter goes on. Remarks of this character are exchanged between the lad and his maternal grandparents as well as his paternal grandparents, though he cannot inherit the widow of a maternal grandparent. Similarly, a man is playmate with the mother of his father, though he cannot inherit and marry her. A grandson may appropriate any articles of property which are not too valuable from his paternal grandfather. A 602 607 Katab, again, is a playmate of his brother's wife, whom indeed he salutes as "wife" and will twit with some such remark as "You are very good at cooking food for your husband, and yet you cook nothing at all for me; am I not your husband too?" To which she will reply, "Oh, very well, I'll see what I can do, husband of mine!" He may then say: "I, your husband! and yet you are going off to sleep with your husband and leave me to a lonely bed!" These remarks are made possible by the practice of the senior and junior levirate marriage. A potential marriage-relationship does not, however, always connote a playmate-relationship, for it would be considered highly indecent for a man to address any of his father's co-wives in the manner just described, even though one day he may enter into marital relations with her.

602 [605] A Katab appears to be, to some extent, on playmate terms with all his cousins,[1] but he will never play with a female cousin whose potential guardian he is, that is to say, whom he will one day give in marriage. This is noteworthy as showing that

[1] But ortho-cousins are only playmates in a modified sense.

1: Meek E. G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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the playmate relationship is sometimes dependent on a potential social relationship. The playmate relationship may exist between a man and his wife's brother's wife, but only if she belongs to some clan other than his own; for a woman of the same clan is a sister, and the joking relationship with a sister is not permissible.

As regards the use of personal names, the general rule is that no one of the generation immediately senior may be addressed by his personal name. Thus a man may not address by their personal names his father or father's brothers and cousins, his father's wives, his mother and her brothers and cousins, though he may so address his grandparents and their brothers and cousins. A son may, however, call his father by a personal name of his own invention, and a mother by the new name bestowed on her by her husband at marriage.

Parents-in-law are not addressed by their personal names; but this rule appears to be relaxed frequently between a man and his father-in-law, as the taboo between these two relatives appears to be of a less strict character than that subsisting between a man and his mother-in-law and a woman and her parents-in-law. The taboo between a man and his mother-in-law is so strict that he will leave the road when he sees her coming; and not merely does he avoid the use of her personal name, but she avoids his also. It may be of interest to describe here a meeting witnessed between a man aged sixty and the parents of his young wife. He had travelled a long distance to see them. He went down on his knees before his mother-in-law and bent his head, murmuring, "Akwaiya akwangnu—are you well, mother-in-law?" To which she replied: "Ungwanu ka kwa sha sham?" (Is my daughter well?). The mother-in-law also asked after the welfare of her daughter's child, and there the conversation finished. The son-in-law withdrew, and then dispatched a boy to his mother-in-law with a gift of a bag of salt, as modesty would have prevented his handing it to her personally. He then sought out his father-in-law, with whom there was much less restraint. After the formal greetings he handed his father-in-law a gift of several pounds of tobacco and had a lengthy evening's conversation with him. When it came to the time of the evening meal, however, each ate his meal by himself in the company of a young boy of the household.

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Descent is patrilineal; but we have already noted that children often respect the clan emblem of their mother as well as of their father; and it may be for this reason that the Fakan sub-clan, who freely intermarry with the Agbat, have come to adopt the crocodile emblem of the Agbat clan. As regards the attitude displayed by children to their respective parents, Katab children are not over-respectful to their fathers. They look after their mothers' interests zealously, and think little of striking their fathers on their mothers' behalf, which is not surprising in a state of society where polygyny has run riot.

*Inheritance.*—Inheritance is patrilineal. In the exceptional case already noted, a sister's son may receive a share of his maternal uncle's property; and a case came to my notice of a man inheriting his maternal grandfather's widow. The general rule, however, is that a man's property and titles pass to his sons or paternal nephews, brothers or paternal cousins, according to the circumstances and character of the inheritance. Females do not inherit from males, husbands do not inherit from wives, parents do not inherit from their children, and grandchildren do not inherit from their grandparents (with the single exception that a grandson may inherit his paternal grandfather's young widow).

If a man dies, and he was the holder of a title, the title passes to the next senior brother or paternal cousin, if he is considered a suitable person to hold the office. But his property passes to his grown-up sons, among whom it is divided in comparatively equal shares. If the children are young they pass under the guardianship of the deceased's brother or cousin, who would take them to his compound (provided he had a separate compound) and would there care for them until they had reached an age of discretion, when they would be reinstalled in their father's compound under the protection of the eldest son. If he had no sons of his own the brother who had inherited might retain one of the deceased's younger sons to look after him in his old age. Again, if the deceased's children are under age, his widows are inherited by his younger brothers or cousins, provided the widows offer no objection. He would take them off to his own compound, or he might keep one and hand another over to a brother or cousin according to the wishes of the deceased. If, however, the widows had sons who were old enough to farm they would remain with their children in their late husband's

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Kagoro



621 the same group as you give your daughters you might be marrying
582 a relative forbidden by the "clan" rule. Moreover, a mother and daughter might be lodged in the same household or family as the respective wives of two brothers or cousins). Secondly, it prevents hostility (which wife-stealing entails) with a group many of whose members are married to your daughters.

583 A few words may be said about the marriage arrangements. Marriage with girls is of the so-called "purchase" type, coupled with some spasmodic agricultural service rendered to the girl's parents or guardians. The purchase amounts to little, taking the form merely of gifts of a hoe, beer, and meat, a return present of cooked beans being given by the girl's family. Later, gifts of beniseed and two chickens are given, cooked beans being again given in return. When the girl is ready for marriage she receives the elaborate body-marks mentioned in the Katab report. The final gifts are one goat and six chickens, after which the girl is taken to the husband's home, a marriage feast being held. It is noteworthy that girls are only given in marriage about the month of October. Marriage by elopement is arranged by the couple themselves, but the abductor nowadays first secures by gifts the good offices of the woman's parents. Formerly it was customary for a man to abduct the wife of a member of another town and subsequently to obtain by gifts the consent of her parents. There is no marriage by exchange among the Kagoro.
[604] A maternal uncle may help his sister's son to procure a wife,
[431] but among the Kagoro the maternal uncle has no great authority. If a boy is successful in hunting he gives the head to the maternal uncle, who in return presents him with a goat or hoe and an arrow to replace the one expended in bringing down the quarry.
[582 A man may marry into his mother's ward, but he must avoid
602] immediate blood relatives of his mother. The relationship system is identical with that of the Katab.

825 *Animal Emblems.*—In Fadan Kagoro the people of the Lawat
582 ward appear to associate themselves with a certain species of
621 snake. If this snake passes the door of a Lawat's house it is
[761] said to be a portent of death. No Lawat may kill this snake, but members of the associated wards of Agwam and Kadau may. The Mingyuo are said to respect the bush cat, and the Mungwop the chameleon. If a Mungwap killed a chameleon the heads of his children would, at birth, be covered with sores. The

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38



587 Secondary affinal marriage occurs: a man may inherit widows of his grandfather, father and brother, but only when these are young women and do not have adult lineal descendants with whom they can live.[26a]

595 Seniority is important among women of the compound, as among men, but how seniority is determined, in view of the complexities arising through the institution of secondary marriage, is not clear.[27] A husband spends two nights with each of his wives in turn, in his own hut, if he has one. Men and women eat in separate groups, the women always in or before the hut of the chief wife. If there is a tendency towards friction between successive generations, relations between alternate generations are characterized by a degree of cordiality. According to Meek, relations between and among siblings reflect a similar convention: on the whole, alternate children are closer and take greater pleasure in one another's company than successive children.

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*Death and Burial*

753 Meek's statement that "illnesses and premature deaths are ascribed to witchcraft, and those who die of smallpox are believed to have been witches," is not apparently meant to be taken literally.[28] Without exception treatments for illness 757 described by Meek appear to have no element of magic about them: there is even "inoculation for smallpox, the fluid being taken from the pustules of a man suffering from a mild attack, and transfused into the blood of a healthy man by means of a scratch made with a razor," which, though it differs from current European medical procedure, is not alleged to be a witch-finding ordeal.

764 Interment generally follows death within 12 to 18 hours, though the burial of a civil chief, whose death is kept secret for seven days, may be delayed for 24 hours 766 if necessary to comply with the rule that a chief must be buried under cover of night. The body of a commoner is clothed in the short Hausa-Fulani gown (*tobe*), that of a chief in a robe (*riga*), and finally wrapped in an ordinary mat of palm-fibre. Burial is generally in the home-compound; old men and chiefs are buried beneath the entrance-hut. The grave is described as decanter-shaped, about 6 ft. deep. If the deceased has been a man of importance, a stone is set up on the grave to mark the site for his descendants who may wish to make offerings to their dead ancestor (see *Religious Beliefs and Practices*, below).

When burial—presided over by the *magajin elenowum*—is complete, horns are sounded (if the deceased had reached a respectable age), beer is drunk, and a feast may follow. In the case of a chief, his immediate relatives are "officially" informed of his death—and burial—a week later, but public announcement is not made for perhaps a month, when a general feast is held. According to Meek, however, "the real funeral feast" will not be held until the dry season (presumably delayed only in case of death in the rains): this lasts for two days, during which the senior male relatives go to the *obwai* hut, then come forth and join in a general dance.

765 Regarding mourning, Meek says that a widow allows her hair to grow long, refrains from washing and smears her body daily with ochre for one or two months. At the end of this period she is shaved and washed in the river by female relatives. Though men themselves do not make a display of mourning, a woman mourns in

[26a] A woman may choose, apparently, whether she will be inherited by her husband's son or grandson.

[27] The wives of any man rank according to the length of time they have been his wives; but it is not stated whether a wife loses seniority by absence (as the secondary wife of another man), whether a secondary wife ever out-ranks a primary wife, or how the wives of males of varying rank in the compound are ranked (whether, for example, the senior wife of the senior male, or compound head, is inevitably the senior woman of the compound, even though she may be very junior from the point of view of actual residence). It is made clear only that the age of the women does not enter into calculation of their rank.

[28] Meek's qualification of this statement appears in an earlier section of his account of Katab, where he notes that the Katab "does not surround himself with amulets and talismans" nor live in constant dread of evil spirits.